Seminar on the

Early Medieval Coins of Northern India

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR SHER SINGH MINISTER OF STATE FOR EDUCATION, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AT 56TH SESSION OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA.

I consider it a special privilege to associate myself with the Numismatic Society of India for inaugurating the 56th Session of the Society. Six years ago you celebrated the Golden Jubilee of the Society issuing a special volume on the occasion. It is indeed a happy memory to think of the years that have witnessed the slow but steady growth of this important Society. Sir Richard Burn, R.B. Whitehead, H.N. Wright and others, who were distinguished officers of the Indian Civil Service, maintained the tradition of Vincent Smith, Fleet and others in combining scholarly output with magisterial ability. Standard catalogues of coin collections in museums were prepared by Whitehead and Wright which are as important as those by scholars entirely devoted to the subject like John Allan or Rapson.

Rao Bahadur Dikshit who was the President of the Society as early as in 1931 was distinguished for his scholarship and ability both as the Director General of Archaeology and as the eminent numismatist who guided the Society during his term of office. He strove hard for coordination between Government Departments like the Archaeological Survey, the museums and the universities for providing numismatics an important place in the subjects for study for post-graduation. He was always for helping intensive study of numismatics by official and non-official students and scholars.

Dr. Jayaswal, a brilliant and bold scholar like the distinguished Epigraphist Dr. Hirananda Shastri held the office of the President of the Society. Dr. Altekar who has done for Indian numismatics more than any other was anxious as the President of the Society to draw attention of the Government to give a proper place for numismatics as it had already done for Epigraphy. As from the time of Cunningham, North India was the main field of labour for antiquarian research and excavation, the South was neglected and very little was known about South Indian coins, which drew forth a plea from Dr. J.N. Banerjee, a distinguished scholar in the field of numismatics for a special study of South Indian Coinage. Dr. V.S. Agrawala brought his literary knowledge and made a strong plea for correlating literary studies as source for numismatics.

In the early stages, in India, as elsewhere in other countries, coin collection had been purely as a hobby, but a systematic study of this important subject was to an extent achieved in India by the indefatigable work of several scholars that built up this Numismatic

Society, and several coin collectors gradually became scholars in this field. Members of the Numismatic Society who were experts in their fields have from time to time helped State Governments, museums and the learned societies like the Asiatic Society of Bengal by advising them in matters concerning numismatics. The Society promoted the cause of numismatic studies by urging the universities to emphasise the teaching of numismatics and the museums to have trained numismatists for publishing systematic catalogues of collections. A tradition of close cooperation between the Archaeological Survey and the Numismatic Society and different universities and museums has continued from the time of Rao Bahadur Dikshit.

The Society has sought to promote the interest of scholars in this Department of study by instituting medals and prizes. As early as in 1914 the award of the Nelson Wright Medal was instituted. In 1950, the discovery of the Bayana Hoard of Gupta Coins, which was a great event in the field of Indian numismatics, brought about the award of Chakravikrama Medal kindly donated by the Maharaja of Bharatpur.

The Numismatic Society has published special books of which the first one in the Memoirs series is 'Techniques of Casting Coins in Ancient India' by the distinguished scientist Professor Birbal Sahni,

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who presented the original moulds and dies for casting coins, found at Khokrakot, to some museums in India including the National Museum. Among other publications of the Numismatic Society special mention must be made of the 'Coinage of the Gupta Empire' and the Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard' by Professor Altekar. The Bibliography of Indian coins', prepared and published in two volumes by the Numismatic Society, is an important aid to those who would wish to have full details of literature on the subject.

When it is recalled that over a century ago James Prinsep, Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint and famous discoverer of the earlier Indian alphabet, was still struggling with the dicipherment of the Brahmi script through the known Greek alphabet on bilingual coins, it is a great encouragement to us that today we have established canons for understanding the fundamentals of this great science, thanks to the pioneering work of several scholars in the past, and we should look forward to definite advancement in a specialized field like this. Devoted work by a band of scholars coming together through a learned Society like this, specially devoted to the science, would be the best means; and it behoves scholars from all over the country, from universities, colleges, learned bodies, educational institutions, museums and Departments of Archaeology from all over the country to cooperate and help the growth of the Society and through the Society the science itself. I have nothing but admiration for those who have with singular devotion kept the Society alive and prosperous for nearly 60 years now. Let us hope that the completion of the 60th year in three more years, would be signalised by the Society by the issue of catalogues of coin collections in all important museums, learned societies, universities and also those in private hands, which would reveal in full focus the exact position of numismatic wealth in our country. In the meantime the Treasure-trove laws and the clauses pertaining to the numismatic acquisition, as they operate, bring more new material unexpectedly to museums, that form the perennial treasure houses of such acquisitions, and these acquisitions as never-failing source for dissemination of knowledge about them.

।कृ०पु०उ०।

आदरणीय प्रोफ़ेसर शेर सिंह, एवं अखिल भारतीय मुद्रा शास्त्र परिषद् के सदस्य,

मैं स्वागत समिति तथा लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय की ओर से आप लोगों का लखनऊ के ऐतिहासिक नगर में स्वागत करता हूं।

अपने पारम्परिक आतिथ्य के लिए प्रख्यात लखनऊ नगर में हमारी स्वागत समिति आप लोगों का स्वागत उस प्रशस्त परम्परा के अनुरूप कदाचित् न कर सकी यद्यपि हमारी भावनाएं आपकी अभ्यर्थना करती हैं।

तीन वर्ष पूर्व तक मुद्रा शास्त्र परिषद् का अधिवेशन भारतीय इतिहास परिषद् के साथ ही होता रहा है। विगत तीन वर्षों से मुद्राशास्त्र परिषद् के अधिवेशन बनारस हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय में ही हुए, जहां इस परिषद् का स्थायी कार्यालय बन गया है। यह पहला अवसर है कि मुद्राशास्त्र परिषद् का अधिवेशन स्वतंत्र रूप से वाराणसी के बाहर हो रहा है। हमें हर्ष है कि मुद्राशास्त्र परिषद् ने हमारा निमंत्रण स्वीकार किया।

लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय मुद्राशास्त्र के अध्ययन का केन्द्र तो नहीं रहा है, परन्तु प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास एवं पुरातत्व विभाग के अन्तर्गत मुद्राशास्त्र का अध्ययन अवश्य होता रहा है। प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास का अध्ययन प्रारम्भ करने में हमारा विश्वविद्यालय उत्तर प्रदेश में अग्रगण्य रहा है।

पहले हमारे विश्वविद्यालय में भारतीय इतिहास तथा योरुपीय इतिहास के दो विभाग थे, तदन्तर दोनों विभाग एक में संगठित हो गए। प्रारम्भ से ही प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास एक विशिष्ट शाखा के रूप में रहा। १९२२ से १९४५ ई० तक विश्वविख्यात इतिहासकार स्वर्गीय डाक्टर राधाकुमुद मुकर्जी इस विभाग के अध्यक्ष रहे। १९५६ में प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास तथा पुरातत्व का स्वतंत्र विभाग स्थापित हुआ और प्रोफेसर चरणदास चटर्जी इसके प्रथम अध्यक्ष हुए। १९५८ में उनके अवकाश ग्रहण करने पर डा० राम कुमार दीक्षित इस विभाग के अध्यक्ष बने। बारह वर्षों की अल्प अवधि में इस विभाग ने आशातीत उन्नति की। विभाग की लोकप्रियता नित्य बढ़ती हुई विद्यार्थी संख्या से स्पष्ट हो जाती है।

इस विभाग के भूतपूर्व विद्यार्थी देश के विभिन्न भागों के विश्वविद्यालयों, महाविद्यालयों, संग्रहालयों तथा पुरातत्व विभाग आदि में उच्च पदों पर कार्य कर रहे हैं। प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास एवं पुरातत्व के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर इस विभाग से पांच डी०लिट्० तथा उन्नीस पीएच०डी० हुए हैं। तथा प्रायः चालीस शोधकर्त्ता कार्य कर रहे हैं।

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लखनऊ राज्य संग्रहालय में मुद्राओं ।सिक्कों। का बड़ा अच्छा संग्रह है। इसके अतिरिक्त लखनऊ के मुद्रा व्यापारियों के पास भी अपने अपने व्यक्तिगत संग्रह है। हमें हर्ष है कि इन लोगों ने अधिवेशन को सफल बनाने में हमारे साथ पूर्ण सहयोग दिया है।

मुद्राशास्त्र का अध्ययन राजनैतिक ,आर्थिक तथा सांस्कृतिक इतिहास के लिए अत्यन्त आवश्यक है।

मुझे विश्वास है कि अधिवेशन प्रोफ़ेसर कृष्णदत्त बाजपेयी की अध्यक्षता में इस विषय के नवीन तथ्यों को प्रकाश में लाएगा, तथा प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास की अनेक उलझी हुई समस्याओं को मुद्राओं के साक्ष्य से सुलझाने की चेष्टा करेगा।

अन्त में मैं पुन: अपनी ओर से, स्वागत समिति की ओर से तथा लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय की ओर से आप सबका स्वागत एवं अभिनन्दन करता हूं।

आनन्द विट्ठल राव
उपकुलपति, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय
अध्यक्ष, स्वागत समिति।

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY

DR. RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

SEMINAR ON "EARLY MEDIEVAL COINS OF NORTHERN INDIA"

AT

LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY

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For the study of early medieval coins of Northern India, the periodization should mark not the Muslim occupation but rather the proliferation of the States of Northern India after Harsa. The most important of these was, of course, the Pratihara Empire which lasted in full glory for about a century and was the last Hindu empire in Northern India. During this early medieval period Indian culture was dominated by a most remarkable religious syncretism and toleration. This was due to the dissemination of the Puranas and the Agamas. The religious catholicism of Harsa and the Buddhist Pala kings of Bengal is well-known. It would be interesting if the early medieval coins of Northern India be studied from the stand-point of the eclectic attitude that characterised religious life during the early medieval period and that has indeed been bequeathed to the whole of India.

All deities, say the Puranas, fuse in and emanate from the one unconditioned Brahman. Brahman or Atman is Mahesa. The popularity of Saivism from north-western and western to eastern India is to be interpreted from the viewpoint not of Mahesa icon worship but of the contemplation of the true Self or Brahman. The Triune image of Mahesvara or the Supreme Deity at Elephanta and the colossal septennate, formless Lingaraja at Parel in Bombay city, belonging to

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the 7th and 8th century A.D., symbolize not sectarian worship but the unity of jiva and God, self and Being or Brahman. It was about the 2nd century B.C. that Lakulisa or Nakulisa-Pasupata founded the Pasupata or Mahesvara cult that spread from the west throughout the country. Mahesa or Lakulisa is often associated with the Lingam in sculpture - Ekamukh or Chaturmukh Linga. The Matsya Purana refers to the Lingayatana Aradhyas - worshippers of Sivalinga or the formless Brahman. The most ancient Linga shrines are those at Mandhata, Ujjain, Nasik, Ellora and Naganath. Early in the 7th century Hiuen-Tsang mentioned the following prominent centres of Pasupata Saivism: Malwa, Ahichchhatra, Jalandhar, Kanauj, Mahesvarapura and Banaras. In the East Sasanka of Karnasuvarna and Bhaskaravarma of Kamarupa, who lived in the first half of the 7th century, were great protaganists of the new Mahesa cult. An inscription of the time of Narayanapala of Bengal mentions the Pasupatas as worshippers of Mahesa, indicating the dominance of the Pasupata sect as the form of Saivism in Eastern India at the time.

Accordingly we find in many early medieval coins of India the emblems of Mahesa, the Bull and the Lingam in a universal, not sectarian setting. The Indo-Sassanian coins that show the fire-altar emblem also show the figures of Mahesa and the humped bull. Mahesa and the humped bull are linked with each other in the Sonpata copper seal of Harsa. In Sasanka's coin we find on one side Mahesa with the recumbent Nandy and on the other Lakshmi with the elephant spinking amrtam. The coins of the Shahis, Chandellas, Gahadavalas, Rashtrakutas and Chahamanas also show the Bull.

Dr. Lallanji Gopala mentions the Indo-Sassanian types of coins with the legend of Sri Onkara. The Onkara here obviously is Onkaranath, the primordial Linga shrine at Mandhata on the bank of the river Narmada.

From north and west to east, from the Shahis and Indo-Sassanians to Sasanka, we see coins referring to Saivism. But this is Agamanta Saivism or the universal worship of Mahesa, Atman or Brahman. Just as at Elephanta and ~~the~~ at Parel in Bombay city we have no icon but a universal art motif of Being and Becoming, so in the coins wherever we have Mahesa or Lakulisa or Bull or Triadent we have a generic coin motif. That is why many different peoples and States adopted the universal myth and image of Mahesa or Supreme Deity in their coins. The age of the Puranas and Agamas, responsible for the reconciliation of metaphysics with popular religion, had its impress not merely on Indian sculpture but also on Indian coinage. The multiplicity of States in Northern India and the consequent confusion after the collapse of the Vardhana Empire were checked by synthesis and eclecticism in popular metaphysics and religion that left their indelible imprint on contemporary coinage.

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56th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India,

Lucknow, 1968.

Presidential address :

By Prof. K. D. Bajpai, University of Saugar, Sagar (M.P.)

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Friends and Co-workers

At the outset I express my sincere thanks to the Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India for electing me as the President of Society. It is a matter of great regret to me that due to my present ill-health I am unable to come up to your expectations by my personal presence at Lucknow. I have to deny myself the great pleasure of meeting you all. Hope you will kindly excuse me for my unavoidable absence to-day.

Lucknow has been choses as the venue for the present annual Conference of the Society. It augers well with the historical research traditions of this great city. For about the last one hundred years Lucknow has played a significant role in collecting coins of different periods and diffusing knowledge about them. We are remined of the pioneer work done by Richard Burn, C.J. Brown, Prayag Dayal, Birbal Sahni, Pannalal and V.S.Agrawala (to mention only a few) in the field of Indian Numismatics. The Procincial (now state) Museum, Lucknow was the main centre of numismatic activites. Its learned curators, backed by the generous help of the State Government, did commendable work on coins, ranging from the punch-marked to the coins of the Nawabs of Oudh.

The University of Lucknow did not lag behind in this field. I remember the good old days when Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerji, Head of the University/Department, used to visit the Provincial Museum to examine some rare ancient Indian coins. I was at that time working in the Museum as the Custodian, Archaeological Section. True it is that of the few scholars whom I have not seen laugh, on any occasion whatsoever, Dr. Kumud was one. But I could see the pervasive glow of a smile on his face when he saw the coins of the Guptas or the Maukharis or of the Pushyabhutis. Another Scholar of the Lucknow University, Prof. C.D.Chatterji, had mire frequent visits to the Museum. He used to spend hours together in the examination of coins. I have yet to come across a scholar who can study ancient coins with the patience of Prof. Chatterji, using all types of magnifying glasses invented by the present scientists. The mint-masters of the Gupta period could not have thought even in their dreams that after fifteen hundred years their coins would be put to a severe test. Prof. Chatterji, like some of our other co-workers, seems to have forgotten the good advice of Upali's gracious mother: "my dear child, if you choose for yourself the profession of a numismatist, you are sure to [illegible] your eyes". The

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work of Dr. Birbal Sahni on the technique of casting coins in ancient India has been recognized as a unique publication on Indian numismatics. It is gratifying to note that the traditions of numismatic-researches are being continued in the University of Lucknow by the present Head of the Depatt. of Ancient Indian Histo and his collegues.

To the coin- collectors of this city goes the credit of recuing from the melting-pot a large number of important coins discovered at various ancient site in northern India. Not only that, some of the coin-collectors of Lucknow have contributed papers on rare and unique coins to the research journal of the Societ

The Numismatic Society of India, with its limited resources, has been succeds in the advancement of numismatic knowledge in the country. Its several publicati by eminent authors have been commended in India and abroad. It is hoped that the work on the 'Corpus Series" will be expedited now. The journal of the Society re quires improvement. I also feel that it is now time that the Society should hav closer relations with the Central and the State archaeological dipartments, Muse Universities and other learned bodies working in the same or allied fields.

I now take up some specific issues for consideration. The problem of origin and antiquity of cionage in India has been discussed for quite a long time. In view of the recent scientific exacavations conducted at various ancient sites of t country., it has been revealed that even for the earliest punch-marked coins a dat prior to 5th century B.C. cannot be assigned. Future digging may, however being some new evidence, but I do not thaink we shall have to change the earlier limit o the introduction of coins in this country by any considerable degree. The Seminar organized by the Society on punch-marked coins sometime back proved quite useful in this connection.

Next comes the question of Janapada, nigama and republican coins. These offer very wide range, both geographical and chronological. They were spread right from Gandhara in the north-west to Tripuri in the south-east. Their circulation covere a period of about 550 years, from about c. 200 B.C. to 350 A.D. Years ago these coins were dubbed as "Tribal coins" without attaching adequate significande to th It has now been proved, beyond doubt that for the study of the history of north-western, northern and central India during the period specified above the importan of these coins cannot be averestimated. It may be suggested here that critical, exhaustive studies on these coins should be undertaken under the following catagories :

Two volumes on ancient coins of Punjab, Rajasthan and Western U.P., one volume each on the coins of Panchala-Mathura; Kosala-Vatsa; western Malwa; eastern-Malwa and the Naga coinage. Recently one Phd. D. thesis on the coins of Kausambi has been prepared under my supervision. Similar works, I understand, are being conducted at some other Universities.

So far it has been generally thought that most of the symbols occuring on these "*Janapada* coins and also on the punch-marked coins are Buddhist. On a close exa-kinations of these I have found that the symbols are mostly Brahmanical, such as *Indradhwaja*, *meru* (Chaitya ?) *Swastika*, *nandipada*, *Kalpavriksha* (wrongly called Bodhi-tree) Vajra (wrongly designated as Ujjain symbol), etc.

The Satavahana coinage offers another facinating study. Cataloging of some hoards of the Satavahana coins has been done and some valuable papers on these have appeared. But a comprehensive appraisal of these coins, spreading from Malwa and Tripuri to the Telangana region is yet a *desideratum*. Recently excavations at Tripuri have yielded interesting evidence of the Satavahana dominance over the Tripuri regions. From Vidisha and the region around their early coins are known. A newly acquired square coin from Vidisha bears the Brahmi legend "Rajno Siri Satakanisa". I assign this coin to Satakarni[1] of the Satavahana dynasty (no. 3 of the puranic list) and equate him with king Satakarni of the Sanchi inscription. He flourished in the middle of the second century B.C. I am inclined to believe that it was probably due to the Satavahana supremacy over eastern Malwa that the descendants of Pushyamitra Sunga could not issue their independent currency at Vidisha. The bearing of the Satavahana coins on the political and cultural history of India has to be properly worked out. Similar studies are needed on the coins of the far south.

Coming to the Gupta Age, I would like to touch upon the main Aryavarta campaign of Samudragupta. Coins have corroborated the evidence of the *Prayaga-Prasasti* in regard to this campaign. Starting ffrom Pataliputra, the Gupta monarch first aimed at the victory over Kausambi. After conquering Kausambi he defeated the kings of Vidisha-Padmavati, Kantipuri, Mathura, Panchala and Ayodhya one after the other and eventurelly returned to Pataliputra. The coins of the Kingdoms enumerated above been discovered and they go to prove the correctness of the statement of Harishena.

The problem of Rama gupta has been regarded as one of the most ingriguing in ancient Indiah History. I have myself examined more than five hundred coins of this ruler, mostly obtained frm surface but a good number of them from excavations also.

On the basis of fabric, type and paleography I have tried to show that Ramagu of these copper coins was no other than Ramagupta, son of Samudragupta and brother of Chandragupta II. Some of my fellow-workers have agreed with this view point. There are a few scholars who still feel that Ramagupta of these was either a Malawa king or a local ruler of Vidisha region. One scholar has however, crossed the limits of decency and has burst out on all those who be in the historicity of Ramagupta, on the basis of these coins and other archae gical and literary evidence. It may be observed in this connection that prov tive or abusive language is not the proper means for tackling such problems.

The Early-Medieval coinage of India has not received its due attention so far. We feel grateful to scholars like Cunningham and Smith who wrote on some of these coins. Recently our fellow-worker Dr. Lallanji Gopal has brought out a monograph on the coins of this period. This brief, but brilliant exposition on the coins of the period, will, I hope, be followed by a bigger volume by Dr Gopal and other competent scholars. It is to include all the coins issued by the post-Gupta dynasties till the period of the Muslim occupation of India. It is in the fitness of things that this time the Numismatic Society is organisin a Seminar on Early-Medieaval coins.

As regards the late Medieaval coins, it has been gratifying to note that a band of devoted scholars has so far been writing on the coins of Delhi Sultans, the Mughals, the Provincial Sultans and the coins of the Native States. This should continue. I am afraid that with the decreasing interest towards the study of Arabic and Persian, We shall not be able to do justice to an important branch of Indian Numismatics.

It may also suggest here that ancient coin not only supply information abou the political and economic history, but they are useful for the knowledge of society, religion fine arts and language also. Our scholars have to pay more attention to this now.

The Study of ancient Indian seals and sealings should go side by side with coins. It is a matter of pleasure that attention of several scholars has recently been drawn towards this material. Dr. B.Ch. Chhabra has been working on ancient Indian seals and sealings. Recently Dr. K.K.Thaplyal of the Univers of Lucknow has produced quite a useful and solid work on the subject.

A correct idea of the foreign influence on Indian coins has to be ascertaine Very recently, at the University of Calcutta under the Supervision of Pro. D.C. Sircar a dissertation entitled "Foreign Influence on Indian coin-names " has been prepared. A few more dissertation covering other important facets of the subject are required. Similarly some scholars may also take up the study of Indian influence on foreign coins.

Friends, I now finish with the hope that you will continue the study of numismatics in the branches which you have specialized. This "Sastra" with the new matterial being added to it almost every day, can well be compared with "Beauty" which acquires new forms every moment.

क्षणे-क्षणे यन्नवतामुपैति
तदेव रूपं रमणीयताया : ।

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Paper for the Seminar on the Early Mediaeval coins of Northern India organised by the Department of Ancient Indian History & Archaeology, Lucknow University.

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Study of the Types of the Coins of North-western India

Deenabandhu Pandey

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The coin types of North-western India prevelant in the Early Mediaeval Period may be suitably classed under two heads, 1. The typed used in a general way (and by some neighbouring kings whose coins are found in Norther-western region) and 2. The type used by the Shahi Kings.

1. General Type

The most popular type of coins is the so-called Indo-Sassanian type with the bust on the obverse and the fire altar on the reverse, the type first copied by the Indo-Huns in c. middle of fifth century A.D. This type was continued upto the time of Vigrah (pala) in silver coins and doubtfully perhaps upto the Chanhana king Ajayaraja whose queen Somaladevi (Somalekha) issued such coins in Copper . The coins of this type are found in South-west Rajaputna, Baroda and in the neighbouring districts of Mewara, Malava and Gujarata.

The Pratihara king Bhoja is the first king who makes change in the popular type sustituting the depiction of the Boar incarnation of Vishnu instead of the bust, but he retains the reverse device though not very significantly. This device has been followed by at least three other kings also . The copper coins found in large number from Rohataka also show a new feature on the obverse depicting Siva and Bull and the reverse contains the fire altar.

It leads us to conclude that the so-called Indo-Sassanian type of coins were prevelent the North-western region. The neighbouring kingoms retained only the fire altar on the reverse and not the whole of device. The obverse motif seems to varry with dynasty to dynasty.

2. Shahi Type.

The other type of the region are the issues of the Shahi Kings. Their coins show two groups. The first group shows the lion on one side with peacock or elephant on the other side. The second group consists horseman with humpped bull (only one case noted by Cunningham with trisula and Siva). The second group seems to be more in practice. This type too, became not less popular than the so-called Indo-Sassanian type as it was adopted by several later dynasties of the period and by the Muhammadan kings of Gazmi and Delhi and also by the kings of Kangara upto 1620 A.D. Thus the type got a life about 750 years for its popularity.

CONCLUSSION

Both the above mentioned types are borrowed from the preceding kings of t North-western India . The so-called Indo-Sassanian type was the crude coppy the Indo-Hun imitations. The novelties recorded do not show any effort of the rulers of the region, it was only by the rulers some how who were related or uenced. The type commonly used by the Shahi Kings was also borrowed from the Indo-Huns.

The Points recorded above show clearly that the North-western region provi some of the quiding types to the Early Medieaval Coinage of Northern India.

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PALAEOGRAPHY OF MEDIAEVAL COINS

T. P. Verma.

It is very often lamented that little attention has been paid to the palaeographic study of the legends of mediaeval coins. This is a truth and there are reasons behind it.

The political and cultural history of mediaeval India, i.e., after the imperial Guptas, tends towards regionalism. The days of big empires, trying to unify whole of India, were gone; and with the Guptas ended the classical age of the Indian history. Small state emerged on the ruins of the great empire who were at least interested in minting activities. To them granting land and issuing prasastis was more important insignia of royalty than issuing coins. International trade suffered a drastic blow and economic condition started deteriorating. Coins of gold were no more a necessity and their purity become a thing of legends. Under such conditions little attention was paid to improve technical skill of kinting, rather it degenerated and mint masters were satisfied by copying, some times very rudely, Sassanian and other coins. Most of the coin types have no legends at all, and those with legends are so rarely distributed in time and space that their palaeography has little meaning.

The palaeography of this period, revealed by the inscriptions of maniscripts, prasastis grants etc, points out that it was paving way to regional scripts. After the begining of the Christian era, Sanskrit started gaining importance and became link language of the whole continent. Royal authorites prefered Sanskrit for their edicts. This helped "in the easy movement of literates and sceibes from one region to another and the quick dispersal of technical skill or styles of writing. Changing boundries of the Kingdoms played determining role in deciding the script of a particular region. Dani's analysis shows how the Kausambi style of writing of the second and third century A.D. gradually spread throughout the Middle Gangage Valley and as far east as Bengal after it was adopted by the early Guptas. This style later reached Nepal via Bengal in the sixth and seventh centuries while it was replaced in its original region by another style from western region with the growth of Kanauj starting under Harsha, a king from Sthanishwar. This western style, with its origin from Mathura under the Kshatrapas and the Kushanas, spread west words in the hill states of Kashmir and Chamba and developed in the form of Saradá script. This Mathura style, in the Gangatic Valley and Rajasthan later developed into Nagari. Same political activities explain how in the tenth century A.D. Bengal started developing its script into proto-Bengali and how remaining part of northern and central India was using some or the other varie the script which later developed into Nagari.

The palaeographic wealth of the mediaeval coins. as compared to that of th Indo-Greeks, Kushanas, Guptas etc. is very poor. But its proper study is neede very much by which we may expect to throw light on some complicated problems(t be elaborated.).

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SOME EARLY MEDIEVAL COINS IN THE MUSEUMS OF RAJASTHAN

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Hunas established their political influence atleast in the Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan, Saurastra and Malwa region if not in the whole of northern India during the later half of the 5th century and the beginning of the 6th century A.D. They issued silver as well as copper Coins which are purely the imitation of Sassanian coins and remained in circulation till a very later period.

Like, other neighbouring regions from all the Corners of Rajasthan, Coins of the series have been reported as treasure trove find and sometimes as a Chance discovery.

Before describing the details of these coins it will not be out of place to mention here their various finds spots. In the year 1937-38, 5 Indo-Sassanian coins from Sambar, 90 from Raniawas and 20 from the Village Khajroli, were recovered, as a result of excavation in the first case and as Treasure trove from the latter places and all these coins are preserved in the Central Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Jaipur.

From Jodhpur region, places like Desuri, Nagore, Jalor, Chauhatan and Sardargarh (Jasanagar) have revealed about 4000 Gaadhia coins Silver & Copper which are preserved in the coin Cabinets of Saradar Museum, Jodhpur.

Rajputana Museum also possessess about 3000 AR Indo-Sassanian Coins which were recovered as treasure Trove find from Piplaj in the Ajmer Merwara region.

Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur has got good number of Gadhia coins of Silver & Copper of which the provenance has not been recorded properly save one hoard of 78 AR Gadhis Coins which were recovered per chance while road digging was being done on Saira-Ranakpur road in the year 1965-

In the Archaeological Museum, Jhalawar about 200 Silver Gadhia Coins are preserved which were found from the Village Mori near Junakhera in District Jhalawar.

After a study this much can be said that these coins are of two varieties on the basis of fabric and the other details, which are given below:-

1) Thin-Flat and bust of king on the obverse facing right;
   fire-altar on the reverse.
   No legend on any side.

2) Thick dumpy - Shaps - irregular, weight - 4.1000 grammas.

Obv:- Bust of kind facing left, halo around depicted through dots, below th bust there are two crascents.

Rev:- Probably a fire-altar, surrounded by dots and crescents.

Probably these dots and crescents represent sun and moon.

Rajasthan Museums have got some more coins of the varieties, other th these Indo-Sassanian or Gadha series, these are Viz- Advarih coins, and the Horseman-bull type copper coins of Samantadeva, which where in circulation d the nineth - 11th century A.D..

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Economic Importance of Early Medieaval Coinage

[illegible] Prakash

India has, throughout its long history been primarily a nation of rural economy, which is confirmed by the lack of universal and extensive monetary economy -confined mostly to the higher sections of Urban Society - in any given period of its history. This generalisation is, however, more applicable to the ancient periods of India than medieval and modern. The Sanskrit word *dhanam*, equivalent of the English "Wealth" is derived from *dhana* meaning " Wealth in Cattle". The wealth of the ancients included cattle - Cow, Elephant, horse, goat, sheep - precious stores, metals, coins and grain. Sinch the rural areas mostly produced the articles of their daily use - primarily food - they professed to exchange things of necessity. Barher was much in vogue even in early medieval period. At times even merchants preferred to exchange goods than to sell and repurchase others required. Coins for the villager than, as even now, were something to be stored for future needs of a such wifen importance. The fact that the states collected taxes in the form of grains and cattle confirms it.

Coins were needed to facilitate exchange of goods, to serve as a standard and store of value. Thus they had to be issued by authorities who could guarantee their genuineness and thus make it acceptable to parties and individuals. Coins of different metals and denominations are thus required for the exchange of different kind of goods including labour and skill.

The early medieval period of Indian history provides us with a very scanty coinage. Not all dynasties, and not many kings of a particular dynasty are known to have issued coins. Those who issued, ssem to have struck a very meagre mondey as is evidenced by their poor availability. The main reason of this absence of a regular and extensive currency is to be seen in the fact that with the growth of many samall independent and mutually warring Kingships resulted in a decline of the interval Indian trade. These struggles often confinued ~~frw~~ for many generations. Then, as now, invaders not only tried to vanquish the enemy on the battle front but also to shatter its economy by destroying crops, irrigation systems, seizing cattle and stored grain, and by burning villages, towns and cities. The frequency of wars cost the people their properity, Besides " the Bulk of retail transactions however was by barter", due to the low prices of saleable articles and the imposition of legislation excluding "many obhects" from "Money traffic" which thus " could be traded through barter" (Eingth, 252) only, Prannath mentions a long list of articles prohibited for sale (Tonch and gold in Allindien,) Besides, many sec-

-tions of the Society [illegible] may even to touch money, gold an silver. Application of these prescriptions, together with the wide use of bart thus may have considerably reduced the sphere of the functioning and hence the need of money.

Gold and Silver coinages during the Early Medieval period are rarer and are highly debased.copper money is comparatively speaking more profuse. This wrong suggest that gold coins were not ordinarily needed due to "the cheapness of th commodities in the period" for they are never needed ordinarily, nor were they in earlier periods. Gold coins have to be issued for higher trade transactions and not also for remmuneration or rewarding " important functionaries of the St (Gopal, 217), which is hardly a reason for the issue of such a coinage.

The names of Dinara, Suvarana, Nishka, Karshapana, rupaka etc. often met wi in the Early Medieavel literature, for gold and silver money's are retained fro earlier period. If at all they signify anything in this period, it is the hypothetical use of a standard currency and nothing else.

It has often been suggested that the gold coins of the Kushanas and the Gu circulated in Early Medieval prdiod, and an attempt to issue a fresh gold coina was made by Gangeyadeva in the 11th century only after these early coins became searce. It is not possible to accept this view. For the Kushana gold also must have circulated during the Gupta period by their currency did not prevent the Guptas from striking their own money in Gold. Thus the issue of a gold currency directly concerned with the mounting high volume of extra-territorial trade and the material prosperity of a nation or people. India's international trade decl very swiftly after the Guptas and the internal trade also suffered greatly due t the grwoth of many small independependent but rival kingships. Thus political unstability and consequent insecurity were the main ultimate reasons for the decline of material prosperity of the people and kingships and account for the l of gold coinage during this period. Base gold coinage reflect the poverty of th States trying to maintain it's economic well being and the balance of the dwindly trade in their favour.

Similarly: whatever little is know of the silver coinage of this period is a highly debased and uniformly of a crude manufacture. That silver could not be brought into the country due to the political changes in Central Asia, and in In itself. Thus, the little silver that was available, was used by solitary kings xxxxxx dynasties to revive a silver money. Both the gold and silver pieces mu have been intended to pass on as official currency in the kingship of their issu

Outside it, however, they may not have been accepted at their face or intended value.

Thus the main currency of this period was not struck in gold or silver. It was probably their copper coinage. Copper coins are more numerous then those in the costlier metals. But they too suffer from many draw backs which characterise the Early Mediecal Period. The word *dramma* in this period probably became a variant of coin, and could be used commonly for all the gold silver and coppier piece, alike. Some of these dramma coins can be identified with the *coin*-terms mentioned in contemporary literatureand epigraphs. These are mostly termed after the names of their issuers.

It seems, however, that besides these metallic currencies, certain types of primitive money's also officially served as a popular media of exchange. 1) grain- Medhalithi (On Manu, VIII, 151-52) hints at the possibility of a man growing rich through business started by borrowed grain. Farmers, paid their taxes etc. to the government in kind. Services - of skilled labours etc. - could also be thus paid Katha Saritasagara referes to the story of merchants poor son taking a dead mouse, as loan from a rich merchant, sold it to another for his cat, in turn for a little grain and gradually himself became a rich man.

2) *Cowrie.* Literature of the period referes to the use of cowries as a commonly recognised medium of exchange. That it was unit of value and store is also evidenced by certain references. *Ramacharita* states that the whole army of Rama (pala) was paid in cowries. Their hoards are indicative of their monetary value.

The Bilhari (M.P.) record mentions that one *Kapardi* (Cowrie) was paid to Shiva asecties by each shop. A Tezpur epigraph prescribes of a fine of 110 cowries for infringement of State regulations.

Inscriptions of the Senas of Bengal (Lakshmana and Ballalasenas) mention a term as *Kapardaka purana* , while others (   ) refer only to Puranas. Puranas are the same as Karshapanas and are identified with punch karked coins. Kapardaka stands for cowrie and hence *Kapardaka purana* will mean either "Cowrie" or "Cowrie-coins" Many suggestions have been extended to explain this term (Bhattasali, Bhandarkar, S.K.Chakravorty). S.K.Chakravorty thought that it was merely a "Theoretical unit of account" which goes against the widespread use of the cowrie as evidenced not only by inscriptions and literature but also by actual find of hoards. There is nothing strange in its having been so important a medium of exchange in early medieval Bengal and other parts of the country. There are many examples of primitive money's being in circulation, side by side, both much advenced and scientific moneys, in many parts of the world.

If later legends of Bengal be relied it can be said that before the Senas t part of Eastern India was not fully Aryanized. The Sena Kings are credited to invited many Brahmanas to their kingdom. And most of Brahmana sub-castes of Be Traditionally speaking refer to those legends. Can we think that the majority population during this period in Bengal consisted of some aboriginal tribes ? may be true to some. Bengali Language has a number of words which are local to languages of the Adivasis of Bihar. The white shell bangle worn by all married Bengali ladies except widows is also a characteristic feature of those primitive cultures. There are many other customes etc which are traced to this source. It may be that the ancestors of these very tribes used "Cowrie" for the personal adornment and as a medium of exchange. And its wide use among the popu forced its rulers to recognise it as a unit of value. Hence came to be accepted a class or denomination of Prana, called Kapardaka purana, after its name to dist uish it from the former. It must have been popular similarly earlier than the S as a result of which they readily raised the cowrie to the status of official cu or current money. And this officialisation led to their hoarding both by state individuals.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE RUPA (RUPAKA)

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While discussing the coins in the epigraphic and literary records of Northern India in the early Medieval period (J.N.S.I, Vol. XXV, 1963, part I, pp. 1-16), Dr. Lallanji Gopal mentions rupaka as one of the many tupes of coins a " most frequently mentioned one ".[1] Rupaka is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the Pratiharas, Paramaras, Calukyas and Cahamanas.[2] Dr. Gopal observes, " Rupaka is another term which is often referred to in the literary and epigraphic recores of the period. The reference to suvarna-rupakas in the Rajatarangini, and Kathasaritasagara indicate that in literary works rupakas sometimes denoted coins in general. But rupya rupaka basically and generally stands for a silver coin. In the prithvirajavijaya the drammas struck by King Ajayadeva are called rupaka. But rupaka is often referred to as a specific silver coin and hence was distinguished from the drammas".[3]

According to Dr. Puri " Rupaka or ancient rupa is mentioned in the Rajatarangini, translated by Stein as (Gold coins) and also in the Kathasaritasagara, where at one place the Dinaras are referred to as suvarnarupakas or gold coins. In ancient times rupa was a silver coin in the light of Panini's sutra...... It is doubtful if the gold coins were stamped, because the Punch-mark coins were confined to silver and copper ~~/~~only. In the present context also, it comes after drammas- a silver coin.... We, therefore, suggest that rupaka was a silver coin"[4] . Dr.Puri concluded that " The ratio of rupaka to dramma may be fixed somewhere 1/4 and 1/20" Dr. Gopal has also endorsed it. Speculations are made to reject "Nishka, Satamana, Suvarna etc. as coins.[6] We, at this stage of our numismatic studies cannot go back to the days of Kennedy and Prinsep.

Smrtis and Puranas representing different chronological strata mention different terms viz., niska and suvarna, which were gold coins, as is evident from their tables found in the Smrtis and the Puranas.[7]

The early Pali literature referes to " subanna nikkha"[8] nikkhani"[9] and " rupiyam"[10] in addition to Kahapana etc. Divyavadana also refers to suvarnas[11] (as coins). Gupta inscriptions refer to Dinaras. " Dinara, is a gold coin equal to 16 silver rupakas in the Gupta age (J.N.S.I., Vol. II)[12] . There is also reference to Dinarimasaka (I.E. 8-8).[13] Katha Sarita Sagara referes to Hemadinara and svarna[15] (same as suvarna). Hemadinara is also mentioned in its contracted forms " hema"[16] . Thus hemadinara or hema were used as synonyms for suvarna, the gold currency prevalent in ancient India.[17]

Brhatkathamanjari also refers to suvarna as currency. It mentions rup as a sculptor who was engaged in the "rupaghatana"[19] The nomenclature of Rup as a coin is based on rupa which denotes a form and not the metal as silver w led the scholars to take rupaka as a silver coin.

Rajatarangini refers to Dinara,[20] suvarna,[21] rupaka,[22] and suvarnarupaka.[23] refers to Dinaras of gold, silver and copper.[24] The reference to hemadinara exhibits the existence of other varieties of dinara made of silver and copper Similarly reference to suvarnarupakas in the Rajatarangini (VI-45) reflects t existence of silver and copper rupakas (of. rupyarupam and tamrarupam of Kaut II. 12).

Kautilya mentions Rupadarsaka (the inspector of coins) and Laksanadhyak The coins were manufactured by the Laksanadhyaksa whose name contains a refer to the laksanas or marks such as are found on the Punch-marked coins. Rupa a laksana convey the same idea of depcting forms and features (marks). Rupa or (rupaka) denoted the ancient coinage what is now known as Punch marked curren

What was the name given to the gold currency of the Gupta rulers ? Was known as Gupta coinage ? Indianisation of Roman Coin Denarius aureus, like t of the other features had resulted into the identity of suvarna with Dinara a found in the Kathasarita Sagara. Narada Smrti referes to "dinaradi hiranmaya II. 34.1). Narada further equates suvarna with dinara : ....

कार्षापणोऽण्डिका [illegible] चतस्रस्तु धानकः ।
तद्द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्यः स एव च ॥

Narada Smriti, Parisista, 60.

The Garuda Purana an important text of the early medieval period refers rupakas, masakas, suvarna and dharana in connecgrounded into a well round sha should be appraised at a price of thriteen hundred and five rupakas.[27] I thi rupakas here represent gold coins; for the Garuda Purana specifically refers rupa as a distinct coin of definite weight-Garuda States.

The Seventh part of a suvarna, which is equal to sixteen masakas (accord to Manu) is called rupa. Sena is equal to four masas and a masaka is equal krsnalas. One tenth part of a pala is called dharana"[28].

(Contd....3

i.e.

16 masakas - 1 Suvarna - 80 Krsnala
- 7 rupas
4 masakas - 1 sana - 20 Krsnala
1 masaka - 5 Krsnala
10 dharna - 1 pala

The Garuda Purana, which quotes manu as an authority, introduced rupaka in its series of coins and weights. Manu refers to " those technical names of (certain quantities of) copper, silver and gold, which are generally used on earth for the purpose of business transactions among men "[29] Manu mentions :

Five Krsnalas are one masa and sixteen of those one suvarna. Four suvaranas[30] are one pala and ten palas one dharana; two krsnalas make one masaka of silver.[31] Ten dharanas are equal to one satamana of silver. Thus we see that Garuda does not refer to copper coins mentioned by Manu, as copper coins are of no use in the transactions relating to pearls and jewels. Guruda only refers to the coins of gold and silver. Rupa associated with suvarna represents a gold coin. Rajatarangini (VI.45) specifically mentions suvarna-rupakas. Probably silver rupaka were also prevalent like the raupya masakas distinguished from suvarna-maskas.[32] Prthvi rajavijaya seems to refer to both suvarna-rupakas and durwarna (silver)[33] rupakas Jonaraja, the commentator, intreprets rupaka as dinara-visesa.

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10. Ibid., Vol. II^1. p. 226/8.
11. Divyavadana, 19/19.
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13. Ibid., p. 98.
14. Kathasaritasagara, 33 136.
15. Ibid., 35/33, 83.
16. Ibid., 13/137; 53/78
17. Brhatkathamanjari, 14.25.
18. Ibid., 14/156.
19. Kathasaritasagara, 123.140.
20. Rajatarangini, VI. 38; VII. 163.
21. Ibid., VI. 52. 60, 66.

(Contd.... 4)

22. Ibid. VI. 102.
23. Ibid. VI. 45.
24. Ibid. VII. 950.
25. Arthasastra, II. 12. 24-25.
26. Garuda p. 1. 69. 26. 32.
27. Ibid., 1. 69.26.
28. Garuda p., 1.73.17-18 : सुवर्णो मनुना चक्तु प्रोक्तः षोडश माषक
तस्य षड्भागो भागो: गुंजा रुपं कर्षस्याद्
भाग२ चतुर्माष मानो माषक· पंचाकु वाल:
पलस्य हैरणो भागो धरणा परिकीर्तित

29. Manu, VIII, 131.
30. Ibid., VIII 135.
31. Ibid., VIII. 137 (i).
32. Prthviraj avijaya, V. 18.
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EARLY MEDIAEVAL COINS OF NORTHERN INDIA - SOME PROBLEMS

Dr. R. K. Dikshit

This is an occasion of great privilege for Lucknow where Numismatists have assembled for the first time to discuss the problems of a period that has been much neglected from the point of view of numismatic studies. The period, the coins of which will be discussed in this Seminar, has been labelled as " Early Mediaeval ". This term, like other such terms, is also likely to be interpreted differently by different scholars. Again one would like to know whether the term "Early Mediaeval" denotes a time limit or a concept or both ? Can we describe one of the two different types of coins belonging to a period as "ancient" and another as "early mediaeval" or one as " mediaeval" and another as "early mediaeval" ? We have to determine the limit where the ancient period ends and the early mediaeval begins, as also where the latter ends and the mediaeval period begins. And as regards the concept, the question naturally arises what is the hall - mark that would distinguish Ancient from Mediaeval or early mediaeval. Perhaps this learned assembly will try to arrive at some conclusion regarding the exact connotation of the terms Mediaeval and Early Mediaeval.

The first thing that strikes us about the coins of early mediaeval period is their paucity. And very few of these that have been discovered are of gold. Not only individual but also a few dynasties seem to have issued no coins at all. Those whose gold coins are available can be counted on fingers. Explanation for the great scarcity of coins during this period should be sought. Certain explanations have already been put forth, but the matter needs further consideration.

In contradistinction to the coins of the Kushana and Gupta Kings, who vied with each other in the issueing new types, the coins of our period are rather stereo typed. We miss the pleasant varieties, and sub-varieties that characterise the Gupta coinage. In fact, there is hardly anything in this period that may be labelled as " Innovation " Causes for this lack of originality and variety as also for their poor finish and debased metal need investigation. Proper study of typology and palaeography of coin legends help in determining chronology. Why are the coins of this period, generally speaking, of lighter weight ? Can they be corelated to any weight standard ? Was there the same weight standard for gold, silver and copper coins or did it vary ? And if it varied , the reasons of its variation should be analysed. These are some of the points that have to be pondered upon. Literary and epigraphic evidence relating to coins should be throughly studied and correlated with the actual specimens. This may, on the one hand, determine the connotation of various terms occurring in literature and inscriptions and, on the other, provi nomenclature to various coin-types.

Do the coin types suggest political relationship ? Can we determine the extent of a kingdom on the basis of the provenance of coins ? Did geographic factors influence coin types ? Have the symbols and motifs anything to do with the religious leanings of a ruler or a dynasty or were they adopted merely as conventional devices ?.

Why was an existing type discarded and why the old type was revied after th lapse of some time ? Can any psychological, religious, social or political reapon be ascertained for this interesting phenomena ? These are some of ~~t~~the questions that have to be answered satisfactorily.

A very important part of the study would be to determine the right of mint. In ancient times, at least, we know that besides the government, the cities and guilds also issued coins. Do we have any such evidence for the mediaeval perio Were there royal mints or was the right delegated to certain agencies or individuals ?

It is hoped that the deliberation in this Seminar will provide answer to some of these problems that baffle students of early mediaeval coinage of North India.

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COINS OF SAMANT DEVA A HINDU KING OF OHIND

Numerous coins of Bull and Horseman type with legend Sri Samant Deva on the obverse have been found in Afganistan, Punjab and throughout Northern India.

But who was this king Samant Deva ? If he was a historical figure or Samant and Spalapati of the coins were the names or titles of one and the same king as supposed by V.A.Smith (C.I.C. Vol. I p. 245).

Again, the legend Sri Samant has also appeared on the Bull side of the coins of Tomaras of Dehli and Kanauj and Chauhan Kings of Delhi and Ajmer. But these reveal its three Variations i.e. Sri Samant, Madhawa Sri Samant and Asvari Sri Samant. Whether all these denoted a single king or to three different kings or merely a epithet to express the fendatory status is not possible to say at this stage. Even Samant of these coins is the same king as referred to above or is another is also impossible to say.

To which race the king Samant Deva hailed is another issue. If he was a Brahman what the arabic numerals on his coins on the Horseman side denoted and if he was a Sahi King of Punjab, what the symbol on the rump of the Bull is to reveal, is a problem for which there is, at present, no positive explanation.

During the course of my studies of the Bull and Horseman series of coins in the State Museum collection, I have been able to gather a few new facts which may be helpful for studying the coins of Samant Deva.

1. That the coins of Samant Deva are not know in silver and copper alone A new series in billion, resembling the Bull and Horseman type in silver, was also in vague. These are smaller in size and appear probably as struck from the some diee (silver).

2. that the comparative study of the coins of Samant Deva and Spalapati Deva has revealed the following differences :-

(a) The coins of Spalapati Deva (in silver) are known in Bull and Horseman type alone. The coins of Samant Deva on the other, are, now, known in Bull and Horseman and Bull and Elephant types. The latter type is :-

Acc. Reg. No. 10489 Metal B

Obv :- Recumbant humped bull with trappings traces of Trident with curved rump. Above legend Sri Samant Deva.

Rev :- King riding on a Elephant facing L.,

Wt. Size 16 M.M. diameter.

(b) The legend Spalapati appears alone on the coins while the legend Samant Deva has also figured with the names of kings of the Tomaras of Dehli and Kanauj and with Chauhanas of Dehli and Ajmer. i.e. Samant Deva and Sallakshana Pala Deva, Samant Deva and Chahada Deva etc.

(c) The coins of Samant Deva and Spalapati exhibit on the Horseman side, nodoubt, figures written in numerals of modern arabic forms. But the coins with legend Sri Samant bear X O C on the coins while the legend Spalapati bear .... symbol behind or infront of the king's head.

(d) The copper coins of Spalapati, according to Cunnigham, " are of the same type as his silver coins. They are of the same size and were apparently struck from the same dies " where as the coins of Samant Deva are struck from a different dies resembling with none of his silver coins. No doubt, these reveal the Bull and Horseman type but the representation of the animal is partial owing to their short size.

3. That the coins with legend ' Sri Samant ' also bear a symbol in the rump of the Bull. The symbol has varied in different specimens. On some, it is trident, on others it is thunder weapon (Vajra), sword and in very rare cases, a human figure. Trident alonf with its sub varieties has usually figured on these coins.

What was the purport of the symbol is not easy to say. In all probability, it suggested his affiliation with Brahmanical faith. Curiously enough Alberuni also speaks for Samant Deva and his successors as 'Brahmans' when he says, " The last king of this race was Alkitorman and his Vazir was Kallar a Brahman. The Vazir imprisoned the Raja and seized the throne after him ruled the Brahman kings Samant, Kamalu, Bhim (Sachau, 11., p. 13).

4. That at times the coins of Samant deva and Spalapati Deva are noticed with the Adi-varah coins of Mihir Bhoja or Kanauj in the U.P., T.T. Hoards. Out of a hoard of 140 coins from District Muzaffarnagar, 17 coins are of Samant Deva and Spalapati Deva while the rest have been of Mihir Bhoja.

It appears thus that, in all probability, tje Bull and Horseman series of coins with legend Samant Deva alone went out of circulation with the promulgation of the coins of Mihir Bhoja of Kanauj during the 9-10 Cent. A.D. in the regions of Uttar Pradesh.

A. K. Srivastava,

State Museum, Lucknow.

RIGHT OF MINTING COINS IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta.

When we think of the right of minting coins, in any period of our Indian history, it reflects our doubt about the exclusive right of the state to issue coins and suspecious about the existence of other authority or authorities, which had either the sole right to issue coins or had the equal right of it, side by side with that of the state. In other words, we believe that the coins were issued in the past, not by the states but by some other agency like the merchants or their guilds; or atleast the merchant-guilds were also issueing their coinage apart from that of the states. And in this light, a few papers have recently been written, where the right of minting coins in Ancient India is discussed. Most likely influenced by them, the convenors thought it necessary to discuss the position of minting in the medieval period too and included it amongst the topics for this Seminar.

To my mind, there is no thing to discuss about the minting rights in the Medieval period; so I have little to say about it. But to dispel the notions, if any, in the minds of my friends, I shall elucidate my feelings. It may be pointed out at the out set that there is no contemporary record where in anything is said about the right of minting in the Medieval period. We have to adduce our inferences, only by looking to the traditions and the practices of the earlier period, as we know, in such matters, traditions and practices continue for long and only in rare cases new things are introduced. For these very reasons, we may also look, for our purpose, to the practice, prevelant in the subsequent period, as those might be in continuation of the earlier ones. But unfortunately, here too, there is not much by the way of written material either in the ancient or in the post-Medieval period. We have to think, therefore, in our own way and to arrive at our own conclusions by the process of reasonings.

I shall refer first to the practice followed today all over the world. Today the states have the exclusive right of issueing coins. Coins may be issued only by them and by their authority. Most of the states of the world have their own mints, which produce coins under their control. But some smaller states do not posses their own mints; instead, they employ the mints of other friendly states to mint coins for them. In some parts of the world, there also exist mints, managed by non-state agencies. They too mint coins; but only under the authority of some state, which entrusts the work of minting their coins. Thus, whatever might be the machinery of production of the metallic pieces, that we call "Coin", they are issued

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exclusively under the control and authority of states. No one else can issue the coins.

Yet, some business houses, factories and associations, of the western countries and the tea-planters of Assam in our own country, are known to have issued such metallic pieces, which are of a definite weight, shape and size and bear the stamp of their authority; and thus, satisfy the strict definition of "Coins". They are issued in terms of coin values and used like coins amongst their emplyees and customers. The former are paid their wages and bonus in these metallic pieces and the latter have them in exchange of cash. With these pieces, in turn people may obtain whatever they may like at the issuers' shop. Thus they precisely serve the purpose of coins, yet they cannot be compared, in their utility, with the coins, issued by the States. No value is attached to these metallic pieces, outside the limited sphere of the issuers. And as such, these pieces are distinguished from the coins by the name "Token".

In the period of the Muslim rulers, we know definitely that the coinage was the symbol of royalty. It was the prerogative of the rulers. It was the ruler's mints, where coins were manufactured, appears from Thakkur Pheru's Davva-Parikkha . Abdul Fazl is explicit on this point; he not only gives the list of the mints but also the contents of the legends on the coins. They all indicate that during the Muslim period too, the right of minting coins was vested only in the State. But at the same time, we also know that in the time of Farrukhsiyar, the system of "Farming" was introduced and any one paying a certain amount to the state exchequer, was given the right to mint coins. But this right was non un-fettered. The coins issued by these farmars were always in the name of the king and not of their own. They could only put their distinction mark on the coins. These coins, in purpose and content were similar to the state coins; yet they were not acceptable at par in the market. There was a batta (premium) on them which varied from mint to mint.

Now going back to the ancient period, we know from the Arthasastra of Kautilya ~~of~~ that the state exercised complete control over the coinage system. It was state's monopoly. The Superintendent of mint was authorised to manufacture coins on behalf of the king. This relates to the Mauryan period. For the later period, we have no literary evidence; yet there could be no suggestion on the basis of the coins that there was any other practice than that mentioned by Kautilya, like the Mauryan period and of the Muslim period, it appears that the prerogative of issuing coins always remained with the king. But in this period, the rulers were not zealous about their prerogative, and many of the rulers and dynasties did not care

to issue their own coins. This latitude on the part, does not in any way suggest that in their period, the minting of coins was in the hands of traders or any other agency. Most likely, these rulers did not feel the necessity of issuing coins.

Some scholars suggest on the basis of a few metallic pieces bearing the word *negama* found at Taxila and a few others found at Kausambi that corporate associations of traders did issue their own coins in ancient days. I have every doubt about their being issues of trade-guilds. But if these pieces really were the issues of the trade-guilds and they had all the qualities of the coins and had the same purpose and utility of the coins even they cannot be placed at par with the coins. They can only be compared with the modern tokens issued by the business concerns, to which I have referred to above. The merchant guilds could never have had such a wide influence as that of a king and wielded the confidence amongst the people, like that of the state; so their metallic pieces would have been valid only in a limited circle. The only difference between the modern tokens and the guild-issues might be that of the intrinsic value. The modern tokens and coins both do not have the metallic content of the value that thdy represent on their face; so in absence of the back-bone of the state authority, they carry no weight. In the past, coins represented the intrinsic value. As such, it was quite possible for a metallic piece, issued by a trade-guild, to be accepted by common people, if it contained the metal of its intrinsic value. In that case one might not bother very much, about the issueing authority. But had this been the case, we should have had these guild-issues at many places and in quite a large number on the contrary, they are only a few. As such, if we call the guild issues as coins, we make a confusion, to which we have so far never given a serious thought. Once we realise the nature of these guild issues as "Token" and distinguish them from the "Coins", the doubts about the exclusive right of the state of minting coins disappears itself.

In the light of the above, if we now look to the coins of the Medieval period we find that not all the rulers and dynasties have issued coins; and the coins that are known, with one sole exception refer only to the kings and suggest that they were the royal issues. The exception relates to those Gadhiya coins which bear the letter "*Om*" or the word "*Omkar*". They are suggested to be the issues of the famous Omkara Mandhata temple on the Narmada round about which these coins are found. Looking to the find area, the suggestion seems to be quite valid; yet we have to find an evidence where coins were issued by a temple authority. These coins should not be confused with the temple-tokens, which are so commonly found.

These coins conform in all respects with the other coins of their fabric and type. For them, it may be suggested that they might have been issued in the name of God by the authority of some ruler, the devotee of this God. Such practice is not unknown in our history. The coins of the Yaudheyas in the name of their presiding gods. A seal found at Bhita shows that the king had made over his kingdom to his ishtadevata Mahasena.[1] Inscriptional evidence of such practice in the Medieval period is refered to by Dr. D.C.Sircar in one of his papers, the reference of which I am unable to cite at the moment. This practice was current in evern our own time. The Travancore and Cochin States, before the merger into Indian Union, were being adminstered by their rulling chiefs in the name of God Padmanabha. As such, these coins may not be cited to suggest the issue of coins by any other authority than the king.

We have yet to find any metallic pieces, like those that are known from Taxila and Kausambi, belonging to the Medieval period, which could suggest even the slightest possibility of the metallic issue of the type of coins by any non-state agency.

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1. ASI,AR, 1911-12, p. 51.

Paper for the Seminar on the Early Medieval Coins of Northern India organised by the Depat. of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Lucknow University.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TERMS KAPARDAKA-PURANA AND KAPARDAKA-VODI

Deenabandhu Pandey

IN THE inscriptions of the Early Medieval Period we come across the two important numismatic terms Kapardaka-purana[1] and Kapardaka-vodi[2]. It is well known that the terms purana and vodi are the coin denominations oftem used in the Early Medieval times.[3] These terms preceded by Kapardaka have attracted the attention of the scholars.

N. K. Bhattashali[4] equated Kapardaka-purana with the Karshapana assuming that the term denotes a purana equal to one Kapardaka, i.e. a cowrie in value. In the opinion of D. R. Bhanderkar[5] it was a gold piece coined in the shape of cowrie. He wupported his hypothesis by citing the parallel Egyptian and Chinese metallic representations of cowries and appealing also to the analogy of the rupya coins of Olbia. The Greek city of Olbia was situated on the north shore of the Black Sea. The tunny fish found around the region formed the stable commodity of their communities. But later when the art of coinage was introduced into this city then minted fish shaped bronze coins bearing two Greek letters supposed to be an abbreviation of Greek word for "tunny" the fish, came to be used as currency. We may also Bantu name for iron is "tsimbi", which first referred to cowries, than to cowrie currency and when iron replaced the cowries, as currency it retained cowrie name "tsimbi" for currency.[6] But as S. K. Chakravortty has stated[7] this analogy does not provide a satisfactory explanation to Kapardaka-purana. Cowrie has never been the name of any coin or used for coins.[8] In india when metal currency was used the name cowrie or its synonyms were not used as the name of coin. Cowrie denoted only money which persists till now, it is clear by the use of cowrie in language also.[9] Chakravorty suggests[10] that the real significance of Kapardaka-purana seems to be that the silver coin purana was the standard coin of the realm but not being in general use, it was equalled to an paid for in cowries. In the same way Kapardaka-vodi was also a term to denote that vodi was a coin denomination which has been equated with the copper Kakini[11] equalled to and paid for in cowries as suggested by some scholars.[12]

The terms in discussion are important for the numismatic studies as there is no any parallel of such type. These novel terms used by the Early Mediaeval kings also throw light on the economic sondition of the period, hitherto unnoticed the scholars. It seems that the scanty amounts of the coin metals in the royal treasury

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necessitated the use of cowries in abundance as money. The frequent use of cowries in the Early Mediaeval period is well attested by archaeological finds, literature and inscriptions.[13] The conclusion put forth here regarding the poor condition of royal treasury is also attested by the political condition of the Early Mediaeval period as we see there were manu little Kingdoms. The economic condition is well attested because of so many reasons. At this time barter system was in vogue. The cowrie, a monetary token of the lowest value came to b used for money transactions as the royal treasury was lacking the precious metal

FOOT NOTES :

1. Naihati grant of Ballala Sena, E.I. XIV. p. 161 line 46; Tarpandighi plates of Lakshamana Sena, E.I., XII p. 9, line 37-38; Madhainagara copper plates of Lakshmana Sena, Inscriptions of Bengal, III, p. 112, line 43.

2. Sheragarh Somanatha temple inscription, E.I. , XXIII, p. 140, line 6.

3. Vide, "Cowrie as a Monetary Token in Ancient India," JNSI , XXVIII, pt. II, pp. 137 ff.

4. V.S.P.P.. 1939 B.S. p. 40.

5. Ancient Indian Numismatics, pp. 139. 76-77

6. Samah, Vol. 5, number 16, p. 412; cf, NADA , Vol. 30 p. 46.

7. I.H.Q.; VIII, pp. 596-97.

8. V.V.Mirashi is of the opinion that Kaparda or dyutakaparda were copper coins (C.I.I., IV, pt. I, p. cl; J.N.S.I., III, pt. I, pp. 38-39) and S.C, Ray opines that varataka (Cowrie shall ?) was a general name for coin (JNSI, XIV, pt. I, p. 125).

9. Vide. JNSI, XXVIII, pt. II, pp. 127ff.

10. I.H.Q., op. cit.

11. A. Cunningham, J.D.L.. XXX, 1938, p. 50; V.S.Agrawala, J.U.P.H.S., XVIII, pp. 196 ff.

12. JNSI, XX, p. 39.

13. Vide JNSI, XXVIII, pt. II, pp. 127 ff.

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Paper for the Seminar on the Early Mediaeval Coins of Northern India organised by the Dept. of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archeeology, Lucknow University.

A STUDY INTO THE CHANGING PHASES OF THE INDO-HUN COINAGE

Deenabandhu Pandey

IT WOULD not be unlikely if we think of a Proto-Mediaeval Phase in the history of Indian Numismatics. This phase starts with the declining period of the imperial Guptas and changing gradually shows the early Mediaeval charactersistics with the beginning of the regional powers. This Proto- Mediaeval phase is marked to start from different dates for the different regions. For the North-Western region the said phase starts with the establishment of the Indo-Hun power in the Oxus Valley. They occupied Bactia of the 5th C. A.D. and it was the time about the sixties of the 5th c. A.D. when they were playing role in the Sassanid politics. By the time of the reign of Kubad these nomads involved in Indian affairs. According to Chinese chronicles we learn that in about 465 A.D. they captured Gandhara. Considering the above-mentioned dates we may well propose the date near about 455 A.D. when they were a considerable power in Afghanistan, for the beginning of the proposed phase in the North-western region. The phase continues upto circa 650 A.D. affecting the coinage activities in different parts of India till the Early Mediaeval Phase starts.

It was thought by Cunningham that the Early Indo-Hun coins were issued by striking the obverse alone upoin the current Sassanisn coins because of the obliterated reverse and the relief appeared to have been obtained by punching up from the other side of the coin in many cases. This opinion cannot be corroborated. While studying the coins in the British Museum J.M.Unvala observed that though the Indo-Hun coins show the Sassanian motif but the design differes. We may accept that the Early Indo-Hun rulers seem to imitate the coin motifs used by the Sassanid Kings.

The early coinage of Indo-Huns starts with the imitated Sassnian motif having bust of the king on the obverse and the fire altar and the attendants on the reverse. The legend on these coins are in Scytho-Greek characters as on some of the coins Wilson observed that the peculiar character differs from Pahlavi and on some it is intended for Pahlavi.

The imitation of Sassanian motif by the Kidar Kushanas was done probably either at the same time when the Indo-Huns imitated the Sassanian coins or after the Indo-Huns imitated the Sassanian coins. The two powers being contemporary. the question remains unsolved, but most probably the Indo- Huns imitated the

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the Sassanian coins in the first instance.

It seems that such start in the coinage by the Indo-Huns came some time after Bahram IV whose coin motif has been imitated. I t well suits the date circa 455 A.D. when the nomads were playing role in the Sassanid politics being a stronger power. Gradually with extension of Indo-Hun power towares east and, it seems, with the capture of Gandhara the coinage of the Indo-Huns shows novel changes. I many of the coins published by Cunningham we may see the transitional phases where some old things are not represented and the novelties are accepted. The coins though show the novelties but they do not present any new motiff.

In the next step we see the adaptation of new Indian Symbols on the coins the symbols adopted are Sankha, Chakra and trisula.

The coins with the king on horseback and with the chakra or chakra and Sankh and Greek of Indian Legend, may be taken as an innovation in the Indo-Hun's Coinage. We may infer from the legends that they got themselves established in Jabulistan. This must have been completed before the close of the 5th c. A.D. after which we see that the Indo-Huns penetrated the Indian Land upto the Guptan territory.

The novelties were introduced by Toramana the king of Jabul who ruled in in Afghanistan and India. the gradual change by adopting the Indian symbols and legend may well be compared with the spirit of the coinage of the Kushanas.

Toramana continues the Sassanian type with some novel ones, He issued the small silver hemidrachms like those of the Guptas with King's head on the obverse and peacock on the reverse. The legend being the copy of the Gupta legend. The copper coins of Toramana show a new feature that they present a mixture of the Sassanian, the Kushana and Indian types. The small copper coins with chakra and name Tora in large letters forms the one group. The same design on some small copper coins shows the Kings head of Sassanian aspect and on some other coins the obverse shows a Scythian archer. These types are noted as the copies of Kushanas i Kashmir region.

The coins of Mihirakula also show the Sassanian type with Indian legend and Saiva symbol on the obverse. This type of coins are issued in silver and copper The other type was of Kushan type, the Lakshmi on the reverse. The king standing and the king on horseback are the two varieties. The other vareity is noticed with the Nandi on the reverse, which is novel thing.

The coins of the later Indo-Hun rulers show nothing very peculiar except the

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clear dies and more of the type of the Sassanids. The well known fact that the Indo-Huns were restricted to North-Western region from the begining of the 7th c. A.D. is attested by their coinagealso. The legend on these coins are bi- or tri-lingual, we may notice on them the legends in Indian, Pahlavi, currupt Greek and also in Arabic. The bust on the coin with Pahlavi and Arabic legend published by Unvala shows the bust of Chosroes II. Thus it is clear by the types used for their coins that the Indo-Hun power being in the declining phase perhaps went under the Sassanid hands or was gravely influenced by them.

Lastly, we come to the Shahi kings. Vasudeva and Rai Shahsi are known from the coins. Their coins show the copy of Khusru II in head-dress. Coins contain pahlavi legends on both the sides referring Sapadalaksha and Jabulistan which were under their sway. By the time 650 A.D. the Shahi rule ended and the dynasty was succeeded by the Hindu Shahi Kings.

Vasudeva and his successor do not seem under any politcal influence as they replaced the bust of Sassanid king.

The results from the studey of coin tupes is attested by the provenances of the coins also. The coins of Sassanian tupes are mostly found in the far north-west region and the Sassanian type with novelties in Punjab and Rajputana, the Kushan type in Kashmir and the Gupta and novel reverse motif of Nandi especially in Malwa and Ganga Valley.

Thus we may conclude with the remark that the Indo-Huns starting their coinage with the imitation of the Sassanian style and adding to that some Indian novelties started a new phase in the Indian Numismatics which became so popular in the Early Mediaeval Period which is represented by the Gadahiya coins. The Saiva symbol Nandk started by Mihirakula was adopted by the Hindu Shahis of Sindh with some moderations and later on it became a popular type of the Early Mediaeval Kings.

The metrology adoped by the Indo-Hun rulers was of Sassanian silver drachm of 77 grins and its sub-divisions. This metrology was nover accepted by the Early Mediaeval coinage as they seem to follow the Indian Karshapana system of 80 grains.

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Coins of Northern India (11th-12th Century)

Sri T. N. Pandey

The epigraphs and literature of the period under review reveal the names of the coins then current in Northern India. Siyadoni Inscription, recording a number of donations in favour of Brahmanical deities, records assignment of an endowment, securing the daily payment of a quarter of Panchiyaka dramma to Vishnu Bhattaraka. The same inscription mentions at least twelve other names of coins :-

Dramma
Vigrahapala Dramma
Vigrahapaliya Dramma
Vigrahapalasatka Dramma
Vigrahatungiya Dramma
Sri Madadivaraha
Sri Madaiv Varaha Dramma
Varahakaya Vimsopaka
Vigraha Dramma Vimsovaka
Kapardaka
Kakini and Varataka

In Harsha inscription of Vigraharaja we find mention of Vimsopaka and Dramma[2] Bijapur (Jodhpur, Rajasthan) inscription of Dhavala of Hastikundi mentions Rupaka and Vimsopaka coins.[3] Besani inscription records the gift of 300 drammas. The amount, in the opinion of Cunningham, must have been small as a dramme (Sanskrit Dramya)was a silver coin, the representative of Greek drachma.[4] Mention of Vimsopaka coin is made in one of the inscriptions of the time of Sodhaladeva. Tarpanadighi copper plate of Laksmanasena mentions Kaparddaka-puranas[5] whereas another inscription of Sena dynasty mentions only puranas[6].

It is surprising that no coins of powerful Chandella Kings such as Dhanga and Vidyadhara are known. The coinage of the dynasty starts with the reign of Kirtivarman.[7] The Gold and Silver coins of the Chandellas are exact copies of the coins of Gangeya: V.A. Smith suggest that kirtivarman Chandella adopted and introduced the coinage of Gangeya Deva after defeating Lakshmi Karna Kalchuri[8]. In Chandella copper coins we find a figure of Hanuman under ~~xxx~~ a canopy. prof. Mirashi believes that the Hanuman type was evolved in the Chandella Kingdom where the earliest reference to the worship of the monkey God is found. We also find an image of monkey God at Khajuraho.

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Chalukyas of Gujarat also issued coins. We learn from the Mangrol Inscription of Kumarapala, Kadi inscription of Bhima II and the Anavada inscription th taxes were paid in drammas. There are epigraphic reference to " Bhimpariya " and " Visslapriya " drammas.[10] Reference has been made to the Silver Rupakas issued by Anayadeva's Queen Somalekha.[11] The Chaulukya inscriptions mention Dramma[12] Vimsopaka[13] Rupaka[14] and Karshapana. The P-rabandhachintamani adds Nishka and other two foreign coins, Dinara[16] and Tanka. The Dvyasrayakavya adds Vimsati Bhagaka, Pana and Surpa to our foregoing list of coins.

The currency of Paramaras consisted of coins of various denominations in Gold and Silver. Some Gold coins of the reign of Udayaditya have been discovere in Madhya Pradesh, having a legend on the obverse " Srimada Udaya Deva "[18] Other denominations of coinage are Rupaka, Ardharupaka, Dramma and Vimsopaka.[19]

Now we come to the coins of Kings of Kashmir. The Rajatarangini, describin the activities of King Harsha, recores that as he was fond in his amusements of Dakshinatya (Decan) fashion, he introduced a coin type (tanka) copied from that Karnata.[20] Cunningham has described the actual coins to which Kalhana referes here.[21] They are or Gold and bear Harsha's name. Their type is quite differen from that maintained through the whole of the Hindu coinage of Kashmir. Accordi to Cunnighmam, the fact of the coins being made in imitation of those of Karnata is fully corroborated by the coins of the country.[22] Kalhana says that at the time of Harsha, the use of Gold and Silver money(dinnara) was plentiful in Kashmir but that copper money rare. In strange contrast to this statement, we h the extreme abundance of Harsha's copper and brass coins.[23] Gemeral Cunnigham possessed only one Silver coin of the reign of King Harsha.[24]

In the Kathasarita Sagara, We find mention of dinaras, Mashas and panas.[25] Both mashas and panas are really ancient native Indian weights (16-mashas = 1 pa As the pana was usually of copper and silver it seems probable that the Gold mas only existed in fiction.[26] We hear of 8 Gold mashas[27] given as a present to the chanter of the Samaveda[27] and the purchase of eight cakes for a pana.[28]

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1. Epigraphia Indica Vol. 1, p. 173
3. Ibid, Vol. X, p. 20
4. ASI, XXI, p. 102.
6. Inscriptions of Bengal Vol.III Insc.no. XIV Sundarban copper plate of Lakshmanasena. Ibid, pp. 171-72.
8. IA, XXXVII, P. 147.

2. Ibid, Vol. II, P. 119.
5. EI, Vol.XII, p.6ff; Inscriptions of Bengal. Vol. III., p. 101-103.
7. n.S. Bose-History of the Chandellas p. 182

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9. EI, XI, P. 59
10. Ibid, P. 58
11. Prithviraja Vijaya, Canto V, v90
12. IA, VI, P. 202; EI. X, P. 272
13. EI, I, p. 66; EI. X, p. 19
14. IA. XLI, p. 202-3; IA, P. 337
15. PCT 10
16. PCT 8
17. PCt 36
18. JASB 1920, pl. XIII, No 2
19. EI XIV, p. 310; Tr. RAS Vol. 1. p. 226; JASB Vol. VII, p. 738 V.6, PCT 38
20. KRT, VII, V. 926
21. CMI p. 34
22. Ibid. p. 35
23. Stein KRT VOl. 11, p. 317
24. Ibid p. 316
25. KSS (Penzer Ed) vol 1, pp 63-64
26. Ibid f. note p. 64
27. Ibid p. 64
28. Ibid p. 116

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Early Mediaeval Coins : Some Thoughts on Art and Iconography

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Coins are a valuable source of cultural history incliding Art and Iconography. Where contemporary sources are silent on a particular point the value of coins is supreme. As a corrbor-tive evidence also the numismatic evidence is often remarkable. The period of early mediaeval coins is such where there is an abundance of other sources. Literature, epigraphs, monuments and so on. But still the coins have something to say, something to add. In the sphere of art however, the early mediaeval coins have nothing to contribute. But the very fact that this is so, is of value. The researcher is confronted with several questions. Why for example the coins show a total deterioration, when in the sphere of some ~~art~~ other visual arts for instance Architecture, it was not so. Different regions and dynasties on the other hand were surpassing each other in erecting magnificent temples, and manuments. But the individual sculptures decorating the temple walls were certainly given that much attention. I would like to attribute the reason for artistic degradation of early mediaeval coins to the shifting of emphasis from the minor manifestations of art to gigantic ones. The causes of shifting may be far reachig-political economic. But the fact remains explecit. The lyrical value of the Gupta Sculptures was no more found in the art of early mediaeval period and the sculptures must assumed a subbordinate position in the general scheme of temple architecture. Terracottas two have lost their past splendour. They are merely stylised representatives with no appeal. Coins were strictly later in utilitarian sense and they lost their place as a medium of artistic expression.

Early Mediaeval coins depict a number of deities. Among these are Siva and his symbols, Vishnu and his incarnations, Lakshmi and Hanumana etc. The representation of these devinites, whether a continuation of an earlier Numismatic motif or are innovation is significant for the religions history of the times and this might suitably corroborate the literary and archaeological evidence. The deities on the early mediaeval coins have been mostly correctly identified for example Lakshmi and the varation incarnation of Vishnu. But in a few cases the generally accepted identification needs a reconsideration. Recently Moreshwar Dikshit has challenged the identification of Hanumana on the chandela coins and has suggested that the figure should be identified with warrior. Not only Chandela coins but some types of other dynasties also have similar depictions - Such as the so called Hanumana trampling demon types of Kalachuri Prithvideva, Jalladeva etc. the identification of the figure with Hanumana is doubtful. ..

Dr.M.G.Kikshit's suggestion of the so-called Hanumana figures on Chande coins being the warrior has been well argued. On the so-called Hanumana typ the Chandelas and also the ones referred to above the conspiceous tale is ab the jacialcountour is not monkey - like and the hair - do is like that of a The figure also appears to be holding some weapon like curved sword or bow. still its identification with warrior has one serious difficulty with warrior one serious difficulty. It had become more or less customary to depict a go goddess or some iconographic symbol or some thing with religious connotation least on one side of the coin. This practice is being marked from the very b ning of Indian coins. The coins under question should also then depict some religious there on the reverse. The figure cannot be a secular warrior. Whil agreeing therefore with Dr.M.G.Dikshit that these figure not like that of Han I would suggest that their identification should be sought in terms of the inc tions of Vishnu. It is more likely that the depiction is that of Rama who als depicted like a warrir and Victor..

By citing the above fact my intention is to point out that the older attri tions about the identification of deities need reconsideration.

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EARLY MEDIEVAL COINS OF NORTHERN INDIA: SOME BASIC PROBLEMS

Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta

The purpose of the present Seminar, to my mind, is to look at the various facades of the Coins of the Northern India of the period, which is termed here as the "Early Medieval", from different angles; and to assess the problems that arise out of their study; and also to know those things that one has to face in course of his study of these coins and to find ways for the furtherance of the knowledge in this branch of numismatics. So, it would not be inconsistent to the Seminar, if I deviate myself a little from the out-line chalked out by the organisers of the Seminar and draw your attention to a few basic problems that are vitally connected with the subject and in my opinion, they need our first attention.

My first problem relates to the term "Early Medieval" that has been used here to limit the scope of the subject of the Seminar in terms of period. This term was originally coined as far as I know, by Vaidya to connote the later part of the ancient Indian history that terminates with the advents of the Muslims on Indian soil; but nowhere it was defined clearly so as one could know its precise beginning and end. And so, it has always remained a controvertial term. Here I do not intend to challenge its validity in the realm of history. My only anxieties are : firstly, how far this term is apt for our purpose of numismatic studies ? Secondly, if it is suitable for our purpose, can it be applied in the context of entire Indian numismatics as one unit or it will have to be looked differently for the Northern and Southern coinage ? Thirdly, what would be its precise definition in the context of numismatics i.e. where the period would begin and end what coinage would it cover ? No proper attention seems to have been given to this problem in the past nor there is any serious thinking even now. In fact no one has ever thought it to be any problem and took it lightly.

The difficulty lies in the fact that we have no one critarion to periodize our entire numismatic history. Technical terms like "Punch-marked" and " Uninscribed cast " are used to denote the coins of the earliest periods. To distinguish the coinage of the other periods, we use dynastic or nationality names like indo-Greek, Saka, Pahlawa, Kushana, Gupta, Mughal etc. Where these two methods could not be applied, we turned to the ambiguous periodic terms like "Ancient" and medieval". We can understand the periodization on the basis of dynasties and nationalities, as their periods are fixed and defined in history. We may also understand the technical distinctions, where they give the idea, though not quite accurate, about the period, when these techniques were used But we cannot make out any sense of the periodic terms "Ancient" and Medieval" unless they are precisely defined. And this has resulted in a chaos in our periodization.

Smith has used the term "Ancient" to cover the entire non-Muslim coinage of India, in his Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Cunningham, on the other hand, has confined the term in his *"Coins of Ancient India"* to denote the pre-Gupta coinage of the indigenous origin i.e. those coins, which do not belong to the foreign invaders - Indo-Greeks, Sakas, Pahlavas and the Kushanas, Allan, in his *"Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum"* has also taken the same view but with better clarity. The Numismatic Society of India, which is the competent authority to take a final view in such matters and which in the past had taken such decisions, have not yet expressed their explicit opinion; but their implicit view is available to us on this point in their Scheme of the Corpus volumes. Its first volume, which is under preparation, ends with the pre-Gupta coinage and excludes the foreign invaders, which form the subject of the second an third volumes. The fourth volume is already published; and it relates exclusively to the coinage of the Guptas. This indirectly shows that the Society agrees with the views of Allan that the Ancient period of the Indian numismatics ends with the beginning of the Gupta period.

The deduced inference from the above, for our purpose, would be that the "Medieval Period" or for the matter of the present discussion "Early Medieval Peri in the periodization of the numismatic studies, begins with the rise of the Guptas and it covers all the coinage of the Gupta period (of course, excluding the Gupta coinage) and enters into the post-Gupta and the subsequent period. This inferenc is very much the same as that of Cunningham's in his *"Coins of Medieval India "*. There, he has covered the coinage from the time of Guptas but at the same time has excluded the coins of their contemporaries - the Kidarites and the Hunes, which formed part of his volume on the Later Indo-Scythians. If this is also the explic or the implicit views of the Numismatic Society of India, is for the present not clear. If the Society includes the Kidarita, Huna and the allied coinage along wi the coinage of the earlier period in the follow of Cunningham, then the "Medieval Period" would begin, according to their Corpus Scheme, not from the beginning but from the end of the Gupta period in the periodization scheme of the India numismat

But the Early Medieval Numismatics of Northern India begins not with the end of the Gupta period, but much later sometime in the eighth century A.D., accordin to a Monograph from the pen of Dr. Lallanji Gopal, entitled " Early Medieval types of Northern India" recently published by the Numismatic Society of India. There not coins earlier than the eighth century are listed. I am not sure, if this reflects the views of the Numismatic Society of India; but I am at a loss to know where the post-Gupta coinage of sixth to eighth century stands in its periodization scheme.

Similarly, the Early Medieval period of the North-Indian numismatics ends with the end of the twelfth century A.D., according to the Monograph, just referred to above; while the fact remains that in our coinage, there is not break, real or artificial, like the one our historians imagine in their own field. If this be taken as the terminus, in the name of "Early Medieval", there remains no place for those post-twelfth century coins, which are non-Muslim in their origin but are contemporary to the Muslim coins, for instance, the coinage of the Jajapella dynasty of Narwar or these of the rulers of Kangra, Chamba and other hill states of the Punjab. All the works, published so far, about the post-twelfth century coinage, exclusively relate to the Muslim rulers, which are quite distinct from these coins and have no traditional affinity with them. In future too, they would not, rightly find place in works that are published about the Muslim coinage, Cunningham seems to have realised the fact, though vaguely, and so he had included some of these coins in his book" Coins of Medieval India".

Thus there appears to be loose thinking about the periodization in our numismatic field. It is high time that this Seminar should give a serious thought to it and the Numismatic Society of India should also take a firm view about it, as it took many years back, when the Numismatists were confronted with the problem of distinguishing non-Mughal coins from the Mughal ones. To my mind, there could be no "Early" or "Late" period in the history of our Medieval Numismatics. For the purpose of study and periodization, there should be one unit whatever name we give to it, covering the period from the down fall of the Gupta empire to the rise of the British rule and including all the coinage of the indigenous origin i.e. all those which are non-Muslim in their origih, fabric and contents.

The second problem, to which I intend to refer, relates to the territorial distinctions Northern and Southern in the realm of numismatics. Like the loose thinking about the periodization, here is also a little confusion. We admit the coinage of Chhittaraja, the Silahara ruler of Konkan for the reason of its fabric and contents in the Northern nimismatics and ignore altogether the coinage of Bengal and Assam, which properly belong to the North. There is no book on numismatics, relating either to North or South, where the coins of Orissa are mentioned. Thi has resulted in our ignorance about many series of the coinage. So, we should a think over this point and be clear in our territorial conceptions. To me, we sh not follow the historians in the matter and should visualise the numismatics of whole country as one unit. We do not seem to segregate the coinage of the Satava hanas and the Western Kshatrapas from other contemporary issues on the territoria basis. Like-wise there is no reason as to why the Medievval coinage be ~~segreate~~ as North and South. If carefully examined, mist of the coins of South are closel related to North. The South Indian coins are mostly of gold and majority of them are manufactured in the Ancient Puench - marked technique, which is essentially Northern. Then, a large number of them bear their legends in Nagri. These two basic facts link the South Indian coins with their Northern counter part. But unfortunately, we could never see ~~the~~ to these facts; we should attend to it now.

The third problem, that comes to my mind, is the paucity of the published meterial about the coinage of the Medieval period, be it north or south. No book after Cunningham's is known for the Medieval coins of the North, till a few months back, when Dr. Gopal's Monograph was published. But that too, does not take us fa beyond Cunningham. So is the case with the South. There is hardly any tanigible work on South Indian Numismatics after Elliot. The articles in the Journals on th Medieval coins of North and South are few. We know a little of the Medieval coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta from Smith's Catalogue. No other Museum ever care to published their medieval collection. Unless the coins in different museums are properly published, it is difficult to persue the study of the Medieval coins in any direction. An attempt, therefore, should be made for the extensive study of th coins in different collections in India and abroad and steps should be taken to make them known.

Then there are a number of problems, directly related to the coinage of th period, which are valid equally to the North and the South. But keeping myself within the defined scope of the Seminar, I shall refer here only those, which are directly related to the coins of Northern India.

We find, the impression created by the Kushana gold coins and produced by the magnificent coinage of the Guptas has faded away in this period. We know only a few gold imitations of the Archer type coins of the Guptas issued in the Central Bengal by Samacharadeva and Jayagupta. Then after some gap, we have the debased coins of Sasanka and Vir-asana. Then in the seventh and the eighth centuries, cru and debased imitations of Gupta types are known from different parts of Eastern

Bengal. Thereafter, only two solitary gold coins are known in this area, one of an unknown provanance and attribution bearing the name Vindhyasakti and dateable to the eithth century [1] and the other bearing the name of the Pala ruler Devapala. [2] The genuineness of the latter is doubtful. With these coins, the coinage in the Eastern part of the region vanishes once for all.

Then the gold coins are known in the mid-Ganga-Yamuna plains by a solitary gold coin [3] recently published and attributed to Harsha, the great king of Kanyakubja and by a few specimens of " Cow suckling a calf" type, attributed to an insignificant Surasena dynasty of Bayana, belonging to the eighth century A.D. [4] The only other gold coins of the period are the electrum coins of the Kashmir rulers, which disappeared in about the eighth century A.D. Thereafter we do not have any gold coins for the next more than two centuries. The gold coin re-appears only in the Valley of the Vindhyas in the twelfth century A.D. when the Kalchuri king Gangeyadeva of Tripuri and the rulers of Ratanpur issued their coins.

The silver coins at the end of the Gupta rule was continued in their imitation in the sixth and seventh senturies in the Madhyadesa by the Hunas, the Maukharis and the Vardhanas. But these coins are only few. Like -wise in the west, the imitation of Skandagupta's Bull type, appears in the coins of the Kalachuri Krishnaraja. Some tiny elephant type coins were also issued in this part during the eighth century A.D. by Vatsaraja underthe name of Ranahasti [5]. This is all that we know of silver coins of the eastern and central part of the region under review. In the second half of the ninth century A.D. Silver coins of the "Bull and the Horseman" type were issued in the North-west by the Shahi rulers of Kabul, which remained current there only for a few decades during the existence of that dynasty. Then we have the Indo-Sassanian and Gadhaiya coins, which had along continuity and were current probably throughout our period in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Malwa with a little extension towards east in Uttar Pradesh and towards south in the Maharashtra. These coins are of various shades of metal, Silver, Billon and Copper.

The copper coins, in the entire early part of our period, i.e. prior to eighth century A.D. are quite unknown. Then the Sahis of Kabul and the rulers of Kashmir had their copper coins in the west. Thereafter, at a very late period, the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and the Chandellas had their Hanuman type copper coins. The other copper coins that are know are mostly related to the " Bull and Horseman" and " Abhisheka-Lakshmi" types of the quite late date.

thus we have no continuity in the currency in this period and different metals were used at different places and in different times. Thus suggests that coinage system had almost collapsed during this period, And thus we have a very dismal picture of the currency.

But the studies that had been carried out of the literature and epigra from numismatics point of view, during last few years, has brought to light a la number of terms related to coins. They dispel the above idea created by the coi suggest an economic life jingling and dangling with enormous wealth of coins.

These two evidences, contradicting each other, pose a prime problem of knowing the reality. The paucity of the coins, one may interpret in the terms o the source of metal for the subsquent Muslim coinage and say that the coins of thi period were melted at the latter's mints, as Mortimer Wheeler[6] and J.M.Rosenfield[7] have explained the paucity of the Roman Gold coins in the North and their silver coins in the west by suggesting the former as the source for the Kushana gold coi and the latter for the Western Kshatraps silver ones. This may find some support from Thakkura Pheru, who in his *Davva-Parikkha* has given a long list of the Medie coins, that were coming to his mint for melting and recoining But the subsequent coins of the Muslim period do not substentiate this theory to our entire satisfacti There too, we have the equal paucity of the coins. Which shows that not many coin were coming to their mint by this source. So, our problem remains unsolved and nee a serious thought before we admit any conclusion.

Since I have referred to above the literary and epigraphic numismatic mater it would be convinient to take up here the other problem of co-relating the numism terms with the actual coins. In this direction, no attempt seems to have been ma It needs our sincere attention. *Dinara*, *Suvarna* and *Nishka* are the three terms, wh is frequently used for the gold coins in the epigraphs and literary works of the per Since we have only a few types of gold coins, it should not have been difficuot to identify these terms with them. *Dinara* is used for gold coins in the Gupta inscrip tions and most likely, the preceding Kushana coins were also called by the the same name. So, it may rightly be suggested that the gold coins, issued in Bengal in the follow of the Gupta gold coins and the Kashmir coins that were in the continuity of the Kushana and the Kidarite gold coins, might have been continued to be called *Dina* But it appears from a passage of Vishnugupta, quoted in Hemadri's Vratakhanda[8] th these coins were in all probability called *Suvarna* and the later Abhisheka-Lakshmi type coins were known as *Dinara*, a quite inconsistent fact. He equates 70 rupakas with *Suvarna* and 20 *rupakas* with *Dinara*, which is the exact ration of the weight of the two types of coins. Thus the identification of the gold coins with the coin is quite confused. It is not unlikely that these terms [illegible] they meant only gold coins, without meaning any particulars type and were used indiscriminately.

In the case of silver, three terms, Rupaka, dramma and Karshapana are generally found in the written doccuments and actually, we ~~have~~ have three types of coins of this metal in the period; and it is tempting to suggest that each one of the terms, refers to one of these types. The one which was issued in the follow of the Guptas by the Traikutakas, Kalachuri Krishnaraja, Hunas, Maukharis and the Vardhanas and weighs 35-36 grains, the same as the Gupta Silver coins. Gupta silver coins are known as rupaka and the coins of Krishnaraja are also called by the same name in epigraphs[9] so, it may be reasonable to think that all these coins were known as rupaka. The coins of the Indo-Sassanian and Gadhaiya types weigh between 60 and 65 grains; and appear to follow the weight of the Sassanian Drachm. They may be indintified by the name of Dramma, which might have derieved from the word Drachm. This finds support, as Dr. Gopal has pointed out,[10] in the close resemblance in the geographical distributionof the Indo-Sassanian and the Gadhaiya coins and the areas covered by the epigraphs referring to drammas. The third type of silver coins are those, which were invovated by the Shahi rulers of Kabul and were popular amongst the rulesrs of twelfth and thirteenth centuries i.e. the Bull and the Horseman type. They weigh between 45 and 50 grains. It is very likely that these were called by the third name Karshapana, which was applied at a very early times to the silver punch marked coins of approximately of the same weight.

Pana and Vimsopaka are the two terms, most likely used in the records of the period for copper coins. But copper coins that are known are not many. We know only of those of the later Kashmira rulers, which weigh between 71 and 100 grains, of the Chandellas and Kalachuris of Ratanpur with Hanuman, which weigh differently between 25 and 100 grains; and of the Abhisheka-Lakshmi type, which way the same as the gold coins of the same type, as such, it is difficulty to identify them with any of these terms. However, it may be pointed out here that while the Pana was one-sixteenth of a dramma, the vimsopaka was one-twentieth of it. As such there were atleast two distinct series of the copper coins in this period; and none of them appear to be amongst the existing coins.

Besides these, there are many more terms that await identification~~s~~ and correlation with the actual coins. What I have said here is just to pose the problem which is serious one and needs careful investigation and scrutiny; and are by the way of illustration.

Then, we have the problem, regarding the debasement of the metal of co The Indo-Sasanian and the Gadhaiya coins are found ranging in their metal from silver to copper, with various shades of billon (Silver-copper alloy). Simila the Abhisheka-Lakhsmi type coins are known from gold to copper with various shades of electrum (gold -silver alloy) and billon (silver-copper alloy). No unlikely, there might be amongst them some coins of trimetalic alloy, of which indications are available in Thakkur Pheru's Davva-Parikkha. Generally the debasement of the metal in coins is attributed to the deterioration of the economic condition of the country. But apparently, the condition of the countr in this period, does not suggest any serious set back in the economic life. Th striking fact relating to these coins is that inspite of the large varieties of the metalic shades, coins do not show any apparent fall in their weight. This reminds me of Thakkura Pheru again. He in his tretise, while referring to the billon coins of his own time that he was striking in his mint, informs that a the coins, irrespective of their value and denominations, were of one weight; only the content of silver and copper varied according to the denomination and value. In other words, in his time, coins of similar weight but of different shades of metal were being produced. In view of this fact, it is not unlikely that ~~the~~ in this period too the coins were manufactured on the same pattern; and the coins that we know might be representing different denominations and reflecting not the contemporary economic condition. We cannot be sure on this point as no proper metalic study have so far been made of these coins and we do not know if they had any system in between the various chades of the metal. it would be worth while if the metallic study of the coins be pursued and examined in the light suggested here.

Another striking fact of the period, is the revival of certain types after a long gap. The Bull and the Horseman type, had originated in the later part of the ninth century A.D. and then it was confined in the extreme north west to the Shahi dynasty of Ohin. We do not hear anything about this type for the next two centuries; and then suddently we find a great love for it amongst the rulers of the mid-country belonging to the twelfth and the thirteenth century. Similarly, tiny silver elephant type, which was issued inthe eighth century in the name of Rana-hasti, finds expression, without the slightest change in the coins of Chalukya Jayasimha Siddharaja", after three centures in the mid-twelfth century A.D. This is a phenomenon unknown in any period, earlie or later; as such it needs investigation, as to why these types were revived aft such a long interval.

Lastly, I would draw attention to the facts (1) a number of coin types were current concurrently during this period and (ii) rulers belonging to different dynasties are known from epigraphic and other sources as having the same names. To me, these have created some apparent confusions in our numismatic studies and need clarification. We see (i) no one type appears to be exclusive to any locality dynastiy or ruler for instance. The Abhisheka Lakhsmi type, which originated as the coins of Kalachuria, flourished as the coinage of the Chandella of Jajakbhukti, Gahadavalas of Kanyakubja and the Chahmanas in the Rajasthan; (ii) More than one type is attributed to a ruler or dynasty; viz. The Chandellas had Abhisheka-Lakshmi type for their gold and Hanuman type for their copper coins (i) (iii) within a dynasty, one ruler is attributed with one type of coins and the other of the same dynasty with the coins of quite a different type; Gahadavala Madanpala has the Bull and the Horseman type for his coins and Govindachandra's coins are known of the Abhisheka-Lakshmi type.

Whether these confusions are the realities of the age or are mere fictitious, created by us for the reason of our own ignorance, is my problem. This can only be solved when we have adequate data about the finds of different types of the coins and their find-spots. Unfortunately, this valuable material is not available to numismatists, inspite of the fact that there is a treasure trove act to deal with the coin-finds and a machinary in every state to implement it. The matter has never been seen seriously from the point of numismatists' needs. It is therefore, a high time that we should see that a bibliography of the finds, with the contents of each finds, is made available as earlyas possible. This would then solve not only the problem of attribution; but also would help in many other matters of our interest.

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FOOT - NOTES

1. J.N.S.I., XXI, p. 74.
2. Ibid, XIII, p. 123.35
3. Ibid, XXVII, p. 103-06; XXVIII, p.. 68.
4. Ibid, XXII, p. 278-80.
5. Ibid, IX, p. 139-91.
6. Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers, p. 290.
7. The Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas, p. 22.
8. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, III, p. 122 fn. 162.
9. C.I.I., III, p. 149, lines 38 and 39; J.B.B.R.A.S., XXI, p. 213 ff.
10. The economic Life of Northern India. p. 193.
11. J.N.S.I. XVIII. P. 207-09.